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Marks. They illustrate various kinds of siege apparatus (e.g. *ballista*, *catapulta*, *pluteus*, *vinea*, *testudo arietaria*), a Homeric war chariot, a weaving frame, a scroll (3.35 Marks), and a triptychon (a tablet with four pages in all available for writing: 1.70 Marks), a Homeric double door with lock, and a Pompeian mill¹.

The firm publishes also a series of Wandbilder, of the same size and make-up as the Charts, illustrating Greek and Roman "Geschichte und Sage". These are reproductions of modern paintings, portraying Cicero addressing the Senate against Catiline, Scaevola before Porsenna, Cincinnatus at the plow, the murder of Caesar, etc.

Lastly, the firm handles 41 models in terra cotta, showing "Die Helden und Göttergestalten des Trojanischen Krieges". The standing figures in this group are about ten inches high. The figures cost 6.70 Marks each. C. K.

CRETE AND CRETAN ARCHAEOLOGY¹

The one fact that looms large in the recent history of Crete lies in the political rather than in the archaeological sphere. Crete has achieved the goal of her ambition; she has acquired political union with Greece. After more than a century of massacre and revolution, in which murder and rapine were practiced indiscriminately by Christians and Mohammedans, the Greeks constituting the majority of the population have at length succeeded in definitely severing this island from the territory of the Caliphate. Latest of the three great epoch-making conquests of Islam, Constantinople, Rhodes, Crete, made in the heyday of Ottoman success against the combined forces of Christian Europe, Crete was tenderly cherished by the faithful, who felt that, if Crete were lost, after Crete would fall Rhodes, and after Rhodes Stamboul. The Sultan particularly clung to the island, as he well knew that the loss of Crete would endanger his claim to be Caliph in the councils of many doubting tribes; so for years the astute diplomacy of Abdul Hamid threatened and cajoled Greece by encouraging or restraining the growing power of the Bulgarians in Macedonia, with the result that Crete always has been sacrificed to the progress and the welfare of Greece. The tale is retold in his brilliant and lucid style, though not without a pro-Greek bias, by Victor Bérard, in *La Mort de Stamboul* (Paris, 1913).

There is no danger that the embattled Greeks, whether in Crete or the Balkans, will not abundantly engage the ready sympathy of Christian nations, but it is also well to remember the misery and the sufferings of the Mussulman refugees, driven by violence from the Fortunate Isle and scattered along

the bleak coasts of the islands and Asia Minor.

While the people have been threading this maze of confused politics, archaeologists have been working on the problems presented by the discoveries of the advanced civilization enjoyed by ancient Crete, and yet the great problems of the determination of the race and origin of the people who developed this Cretan culture and of the interpretation of their language are no nearer solution than they were five years ago. In 1909 Sir Arthur Evans published the first volume of *Scripta Minoa*, dealing with the hieroglyphic and primitive linear classes of the vast amount of written material brought to light in the excavations at Knossos, Phaistos and other sites on the island. In this careful and admirable work he presents all the records of Minoan script of the specified classes available at that time, and studies their relations to other scripts of the Mediterranean basin, giving parallel tables and copious illustrations. But in the interpretation of the texts he makes no advance over his previous success in explaining the system of numerals, and, as he himself says in his preface, "in the absence of bilingual inscriptions the material as a whole has not reached the stage when any comprehensive attempt at interpretation or transliteration is likely to be attended with fruitful results".

At the end of *Scripta Minoa* Sir Arthur Evans devotes a chapter to the discussion of the Phaistos disk, the most remarkable document that has been found in Crete, which was published by the finder, Dr. L. Pernier, in *Ausonia*, 1909, 255 ff. The discoverer, as well as Sir Arthur Evans, makes a minute and painstaking study of this unique record, but its meaning is still as much a mystery as when it was first brought to light; for abortive attempts at interpretation, such as that of Professor Hempl in *Harper's Magazine*, January 1911, 187 ff., have not commended themselves to students of this subject. There seems little likelihood of solving the problem except through the medium of a bilingual inscription or document.

The ethnic situation as it is now viewed is presented in a brief summary, accompanied by many notes and references, by Mr. H. R. Hall in his new book, *The Ancient History of the Near East* (1913), 31 ff.; Chapter 2 is devoted to the older civilization of Greece. No new theory is advanced, but there is a reiteration of the consensus of opinion that the Aegean civilization was self-developed in the Aegean basin. Mr. Hall, moreover, accepts the well-known thesis, so admirably supported a few years ago (1906) by Dr. Mackenzie in the *British School Annual*, Volume 12, that the origin of this Aegean people was in Libya, whence their migration took place in the stone age. The civilization which they developed to such a high degree was overthrown after weakening itself through too extensive expan-

¹ Some of these models may be seen at Teachers College.

² I may be allowed to refer to my article, *The Discoveries in Crete*, in *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 2.242-244.

sion, and about 1400-1200 B.C. the Cretan palaces were burned and the culture destroyed by invaders from the north, often called Achaeans, who may or may not have been Indo-Europeans, to whom belong the kings and the culture recounted in Homer, and who built the megaron type of house found on the mainland and in the Homeric poems. The discussion of palace types by Dr. Doerpfeld in *Athenische Mitteilungen*, 30, 257 ff., and by Dr. Mackenzie in *British School Annual*, Volumes 11, 12, 13, is continued by Ferdinand Noack in a useful monograph, *Ovalhaus und Palast in Kreta* (Leipzig, 1908), a supplement to his earlier work on Homeric and Cretan palaces, to which is now added a recent article by F. Oelmann in *Archaeologisches Jahrbuch* 28 (1912), 38 ff., *Ein Achaisches Herrenhaus auf Kreta*. Dr. Oelmann believes that he has discovered a megaron type in a partially excavated suite of rooms at Gournia, but, since this type has been found nowhere else in Crete, final judgment must await further investigation and perhaps excavation of the house in question.

The Minoans driven out of Crete by an Achaean invasion scattered about the coasts of the Mediterranean, flocking with considerable strength to Palestine, where they were known as Philistines. In their turn the Achaeans were overrun by more virile tribes, perhaps of the same race, from the north, who brought iron with them and introduced new manners and customs.

For several years excavation at the three great sites, Knossos, Phaistos, Agia Triada, has been conducted sparingly, while the mass of archaeological material is being sorted and studied, so that interest has been diverted to some smaller places. Of these the most important is Mochlos, a small island close to the northeastern coast, where a town and cemetery were excavated by Mr. Richard Seager in 1908; the results were adequately published with many colored plates in 1912, in a work entitled *Explorations in the Island of Mochlos*.

At Mochlos evidences were found of burials made at different periods in five kinds of tombs, of which the chamber tombs were earliest, containing objects not later than the Early Minoan period. These discoveries, including nearly 150 gold ornaments and 130 stone vases, are of particular importance as they prove that the Minoans at this early period had reached a degree of wealth and culture not hitherto suspected. The objects of gold are thin bands with repoussé and pricked ornaments, diadems, armlets, pins, beads, and chains of especially fine workmanship. Not elsewhere in Crete has such a treasure been found and the objects are comparable only to the hoards from Troy and Mycenae. The stone vases are of peculiar grace and beauty in material and execution. Thirty-eight of them are reproduced by Mr. Seager in color from M. Gilliéron's drawings,

and some have been brought to America through the kindness of the Cretan government and are now on exhibition in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. But the most valuable single object from Mochlos is a gold signet ring of the Late Minoan period, which was stolen from the Museum at Herakleion in 1910 and has not been recovered. On this ring is represented a cult scene, in which the goddess, seated beside a sacred tree, is borne toward the shore in a curious vessel, the stern of which is a dog's head and the prow the tail of a fish. On the beach stands a small building which has been interpreted as a pillar shrine. Thus the excavation of this small site has produced objects of high artistic worth, and has thrown much light on the condition of Crete in the Early Minoan period.

In the vicinity of Mochlos Mr. Seager also made most successful excavations on the island of Pseira (for description of them see *University of Pennsylvania Anthropological Publications*, 1910, 1 ff.). In 1910 he excavated, in coöperation with Miss Edith Hall, the cemetery at Gournia (see *Excavations in Eastern Crete*, Sphoungaras, Univ. of Penn. Anthropol. Pub., 1912, 43 ff.). In 1912 Miss Hall partially uncovered at Vrokastro a settlement of a later period, belonging to the people who occupied the island after the defeat and expulsion of the Minoans. Her results are interesting as illustrating the transitional period between the latest Minoan and the geometric age.

A still later period is represented by the results of the excavations made by M. Adolph Reinach at Mt. Phylakas, not far from Gournia, published in *Revue Archéologique* 21 (1913), 278 ff. On this site M. Reinach discovered a small poor shrine of a nature goddess, to whom were dedicated rude terra cotta statuettes of women, men and animals, chiefly cattle. These terra cottas he dates from 750-250 B.C.

Another small Minoan settlement has been found at the village of Tylisos, on the northeastern slopes of Mt. Ida, about seven miles west of Knossos, where a group of buildings was uncovered in 1909 by M. Joseph Hatzidakis, Ephor-General of Antiquities in Crete, who published his results in *Archaiologike Ephemeris*, 1912, 197 ff. At Tylisos were found, in addition to great numbers of stone and clay vessels, terra cottas, bronzes, seals, etc., the objects now expected from a Minoan site, several inscribed clay tablets, and a curious article that appears on an injured fresco. This object is interpreted as a kind of palm leaf fan, such as in the East was held by slaves over their masters' heads.

Finally, members of the Italian Mission have been continuing work on the Python and other buildings at Gortyna; in clearing the Odeon they uncovered fragments of two additional slabs of the famous law code, which, however, have not yet been published. In *Ausonia*, 1912, 7 ff. are notes on the excavations and

the inscriptions of Gortyna; and in pp. 27 ff. there is an article on the architectural details of the amphitheater by G. Bendinelli. Moreover, in *Monumenti Antichi*, 19 (1908-1910), Mr. R. Paribeni publishes with excellent illustrations in color the famous sarcophagus from Agia Triada; and in the same volume there is an article on the neolithic pottery of Phaistos, by Dr. Angelo Mosso.

Thus the spade has not been idle in Crete, although the recent activity of the excavators has not equaled that of a few years earlier. In the meanwhile some books have been published dealing with certain phases of the Cretan culture and also with the civilization in general.

W. Aly issued in 1908 a monograph on the Apollo cult in Crete (*Der kretische Apollonkult*, Tübingen, 1908) in which he studies carefully all evidence of the worship of Apollo in the island, with the result that he concludes that the cult of Apollo was not of very great antiquity in Crete, but rather in some cases was imported from Delphi, in others was merely a reincarnation of local deities.

Another thorough German monograph on Crete is the dissertation by Diedrich Fimmen, *Zeit und Dauer der kretisch-mykenischen Kultur* (Leipzig, 1909), which discusses every object found in Crete that can be dated, and every feature of the civilization that helps to throw light on approximate chronology. This discussion is interesting and profitable but the results do not differ materially from the usually accepted system of Minoan dates. At the conclusion of the monograph is given a convenient synchronistic table which arranges chronologically in parallel columns the corresponding sites and dates of Egypt, Crete, the Greek Islands, the Greek mainland, and the coast of Asia Minor.

The lecture by W. Deonna on Cretan costumes, *Les toilettes modernes de la Crète minoenne* (Geneva, 1911), is entirely superficial in nature, simply repeating well-known facts; there is no justification for its publication.

In 1912 appeared a Munich dissertation on Cretan vase-painting by Ernst Reisinger, *Kretische Vasenmalerei von Kamares—bis zum Palaststil*. Miss Hall had previously made a study of the classification of the pottery in a monograph entitled *The decorative Art of Crete in the Bronze Age* (1907), but Reisinger's work gives a more critical analysis of the stylistic features of the different groups, and especially studies the relation of Cretan pottery to similar ware found in neighboring lands. He too compiles a chronological table, in which he illustrates his belief that the evidence of the pottery does not support Sir Arthur Evans's scheme of classification, by uniting Early Minoan II and III into one class, Early Minoan II, and Middle Minoan III and Late Minoan I into Late Minoan I, thus eliminating Early Minoan III and Middle Minoan III. This

book is the most thorough and convenient work on the subject that has yet been published.

Of the books that deal in a general way with the civilization as a whole the best is by C. H. and H. B. Hawes, *Crete the Forerunner of Greece* (London and New York, 1909): see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 4.166. Professor Hawes spent much time in Crete pursuing anthropological studies, some of the results of which are published in *British School Annual*, 16. 258 ff., in an article entitled, *Some Dorian Descendants?* Mrs. Hawes is well known for the successful excavation of Gournia, the results of which she has beautifully published, in a volume entitled *Gournia, Vasiliki, and other Prehistoric Sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra* (Philadelphia, 1908): see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 2.242. These competent authorities then subsequently wrote together a general book on Crete, which is a thorough and accurate account of the Minoan civilization, but through lack of illustrations is of far less value than it otherwise would have been.

This lack is emphasized in a work by Rev. James Baikie, *Sea Kings of Crete* (London, 1910), who gives many excellent illustrations which are the chief merit of a book which presents a summary in a popular way of the more important discoveries in the island, and of some of the phases of Cretan culture. See *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 4. 158-159.

But the best photographs of selected views and objects in Crete are reproduced and published in 100 plates by the enterprising and artistic photographer of Herakleion, Mr. G. Maraghiannis, in *Antiquités Crétoises*, first series 1906, second series 1911 (\$12.50 for the two volumes).

Other popular books on Crete that have appeared are by Angelo Mosso, *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* (New York, 1907), and by Père Lagrange, *La Crète ancienne*, 1908, while the admirable work by Burrows, *The Discoveries in Crete*, 1907, is still one of the most thorough and scholarly presentations of the whole Cretan question (see *THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY* 2. 242).

Shortly before his death in 1910 Senator Mosso published his second book on Crete, *Le Origini della Civiltà Mediterranea* (Milano, 1910). The English edition, entitled *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilization*, is an unsatisfactory translation by Marion C. Harrison, with some chapters, and illustrations not included in the Italian work. Dr. Mosso had made excavations in Italy and Sicily, as well as in Crete, and so was able to compare many phases of prehistoric civilization, while his knowledge and interest in anthropology and chemistry enabled him to pursue investigations along lines often neglected by archaeologists. So while this book is full of vain repetitions and useless remarks it is of the greatest value because of the study and analysis of metal objects found on neolithic and other prehistoric

sites. Dr. Mosso does not carry this subject to any conclusions, but he proves by analysis that metal objects in the most ancient palace of Phaistos are of almost pure copper, and that tin is used very sparingly. The percentage of tin increases as the civilization improves, a fact which further extended and studied will throw light on the intercommunications of the primitive peoples of the Mediterranean and their mutual commercial relations.

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HORACE'S SABINE FARM

The readers of THE CLASSICAL WEEKLY may be interested in an account of a day spent last summer at Horace's Sabine Farm. Early on August 15 a party of six started from Rome by the Via Tiburtina, not in a *raeda*, but in an automobile! We had been to Tivoli, but not beyond, and we had seen no such views of the Sabine Hills as we got that day in the clear morning light. The first pictures that we took were of the *praeceptus Anio* where we crossed it before reaching Tibur.

We stopped at Tivoli only long enough to get the Falernian to help our lunch of olives and endives, then sped along the Via Valeria, which follows the Anio's winding course to Vico Varo. There we left the car on the road and walked up through the little walled town which was Horace's Varia. The day was a *festā* and the people were all out on the streets in holiday attire. Women were filling copper water jars at the town well. Old men were sitting on the steps of the quaint, octagonal Church. A dozen small boys followed us about.

A little beyond Vico Varo we turned to the left up the valley of the Licenza (Horace's Digentia), a pebbly river-bed wet with only a tiny trickle of water in August, but somehow keeping the valley green. We overtook and passed the diligence to Mandela and presently came to a side path at the left, marked with a sign-board bearing the words Villa d'Orazio Flacco. Somehow that modern Italian label seemed to dispel topographical queries and archaeological misgivings and we descended with the surety of Tyndaris or Maecenas, in response to an ode of invitation.

At the foot of the path an Italian met us who told us that he was De Rossi Nicola, Caposquadra degli scavi della villa d' Orazio, Licenza, and that he would take us to the *scavi*. I found afterward that an account of these new excavations had been published in The New York Times of June 8, 1913, but I had not seen the article and was entirely unprepared for the discoveries.

To our great regret, we were not allowed to take photographs or draw plans of the excavations; in fact De Rossi Nicola had to stay away from the celebration of the *festā* at the town of Licenza in order to restrain our desires. When we expressed

our regret over spoiling his holiday, he shrugged his shoulders and remarked: "Bisogna soffrire!" It was a true Horatian echo: *Durum; sed levius fit patientia quicquid corrigere est nefas*.

As there were no men at work on account of the *festā*, we had excellent opportunity to study the *scavi* and we had all De Rossi Nicola's attention. Since we were not allowed to make measurements or draw plans, the account of what we saw can be but sketchy. Moreover, I must state at once that, as the results of the work at the villa have not been published, we have not before us yet the proofs which Cavaliere Angelo Pasqui claims to have for the house being a building of the Augustan age, or Horace's own villa. The site, to be sure, is the one that has been most generally accepted by the archaeologists as the site of the Sabine farm, described so carefully by Horace himself in Epistles I. 16.

In the 'retired valley', entirely surrounded by mountains, the foundations of a little country house have been laid bare. In front there is a deep, rectangular garden with an oblong fish-pond in the center and a cryptoporticus around it on three sides. The house itself lies on the fourth, or north side of the garden and is reached by five steps from the cryptoporticus at either end and by five steps in the center from the garden. Across the front of the house there is a hall out of which the rooms open. In the center there is one room larger than the others, directly opposite the steps leading up from the garden, a room which the Italians call the triclinium. It has, however, a *compluvium* in the middle of the floor. The group of rooms at the right of this central room is marked by very fine mosaic work on the floor. The rooms at the left of the central room show a coarser variety of much less beauty; it is probably due to this fact that these rooms are called the servants' quarters. Pictures of two patterns of the fine mosaic work may be seen in La Lettura for September, 1913, and in the Illustrated London News for May 24, 1913. See also Die Woche, Heft 27, 1913. The colors in both are black and ivory-white or ecru. There are three rooms to the right of the central room and three to the left, so that the house is approximately symmetrical, although the proportions of the rooms are not identical.

Back of this row of rooms is another straight passage-way and north of this were other rooms on each side of the house with another garden between them. In this garden, at a much later time apparently, a Nymphaeum was built, rectangular in shape, with a water-course around it and with four apses on the sides. The walls of all these rooms seemed to have been restored to the height of about a foot out of the material found and are of regular *opus reticulatum* made of hard white limestone.